

## Kadar Death Penalty For Strikers

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# THE MILITANT

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# Negroes Demand Eisenhower Act Now

## CP Convention Paves Way For Discussion of Program

By Harry Ring

The most significant feature of the recently concluded convention of the Communist Party is the fact that the delegates, by a majority of two to one, blocked the efforts of party Chairman William Z. Foster to force the organization back into its pre-20th Congress bureaucratic straitjacket. In taking this stand the delegates rejected the declared views of the bureaucrats in the Kremlin. With this act of defiance a 30-year period of political subservience to the Soviet bureaucracy is now drawing to a close.

This action of the convention was not sufficient to resolve the

political crisis which has wracked the party since the 20th Congress, but it greatly facilitates the possibility for the party membership to come to grips with the political issues causing the crisis.

### DENNIS IN BETWEEN

The convention revealed a strong desire on the part of the delegates to avert a split in the party. But within that framework a majority wanted to end the political domination of the Moscow hierarchy and to prevent re-establishment of a regime of bureaucratic "monolithic unity" within the party. The convention

almost half of those elected have not publicly committed themselves to definitive support of either group but can be best described as more "anti-Foster" than "pro-Gates." While the failure of either wing to capture control permits Dennis to continue playing the middle of the road, there is no visible evidence of a crystallized Dennis "tendency" in either the leadership or the ranks.

### DIDN'T WORK THIS TIME

The Stalinist-type efforts to influence the convention's outcome from abroad undoubtedly helped tip the scales against Foster. In 1945 a Moscow-inspired letter from French CP leader Duclos was sufficient to bring about the dumping of party leader Earl Browder and an abrupt shift in party line. But the Duclos letter to this convention, branding the views of the Gates group as a "dangerous departure" from Marxism-Leninism failed to accomplish the same result.

Instead, the convention voted two to one in favor of the Gates stand on the issue as presented by Max Weiss, reporting for 14 of the 26-man resolutions committee.

Hitting at the Duclos letter, Weiss declared: "We cannot agree with any position which implies that some other party will interpret for us what the principles of Marxism-Leninism are while all that we are called upon to do is apply as creatively as we can their interpretation."

It is necessary, Weiss continued, "to declare clearly, unmistakably and publicly that it is our party which must interpret these principles as best we can, that no other party in the international Communist movement, no matter in what esteem we hold it, should be assumed to have any authoritarian, ex cathedra right to interpret these principles for us."

### MEMBERSHIP'S DESIRE

In adopting the report, the convention rejected Foster's view that it should welcome the "sage

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## Key Steel Districts Vote Against McDonald's Rule

By Fred Halstead

FEB. 19.—The bureaucracy in the powerful United Steelworkers of America headed by David J. McDonald received a crushing blow from the rank and file steelworkers in the union election, Feb. 12. Well over one-third of the votes for the office of international president of the union went to the candidate of the Dues Protest Committee, Donald Rarick. A majority of the votes were cast for Rarick in several major steel centers including two Pittsburgh districts.

The vote for McDonald's opponent, a 37-year-old grievance committee man at the United States Steel Irvin Works near Pittsburgh who was unknown outside his own Local 2227 until the dues-protest began last year, was greater than had been expected by even the staunchest supporters of the protest movement.

### OFFICIALS BACK M'DONALD.

Total unofficial returns reported in Pittsburgh as of Feb. 18 gave McDonald 163,900 votes to Rarick's 84,000. The official victor will be McDonald who will retain his post, but the real victors are the rank-and-file who turned out a huge ground-swell vote in opposition to the McDonald machine in the first election for president in the history of the steelworkers union.

The large vote for the Dues Protest candidates in the major steel centers is even more impressive considering the fact that practically all the bureaucrats in the local unions and all the incumbent district directors lined up solidly behind McDonald. This gave the machine complete con-



Members of two Pittsburgh Steelworkers Locals last fall turned thumbs down on David J. McDonald's demand for a dues increase. McDonald, the steel union's President has to scrape by on an income of only \$50,000 a year.

tion and fuel oil price increases of the needs of Europe for a few months in case the canal should be closed. References were made to the great resources of Texas and to the controlled and drastically reduced flow of oil in Texas wells that could be stepped up considerably, merely by turning the valves.

But this has not happened. The U.S. Departments of State, Defense and Interior, all immediately concerned in the matter, refuse to put any pressure on the oil companies to supply more oil. Eisenhower says that this "is not the American way of doing things."

In the meantime, Oil production in Texas was actually reduced instead of increased. What did go up was prices. Europe is receiving only 65% of its needs. And besides paying the higher American price, it is forced to buy huge quantities of much higher-priced gasoline from American suppliers in order to get any crude at all. (Europe has its own refineries which are now partially closed with consequent unemployment.) The American consumer is high-jacked for a gaso-

line and fuel oil price increases on grounds of the "Middle East crisis" and the artificial but highly propagandized "shortage."

Supposedly to meet the crisis, the Eisenhower Administration set up a Middle East Emergency Committee. This committee is not composed of any government representatives, and is in reality a barrier to any real government committee being set up. The committee consists solely of the representatives of the 15 major oil companies. The committee's

chairman is Stewart Coleman, vice-president of Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey (largest of American oil companies, and probably the biggest and wealthiest corporation in the world).

### TEXAS RAILROAD CO.

The government has of course, politely asked the oil companies to increase production. But the companies have not even bothered to reply. (Were the oil workers to go on strike in the present crisis, they could legally be

forced to produce on the grounds of the "emergency.")

The oil companies have an additional legal personality to aid their stand besides the "committee" so obligingly set up by the government. This is the Texas Railroad Company. This company has the full power to regulate the flow of oil in Texas wells. It has refused to allow an increase of oil production. The Eisenhower Administration isn't doing anything about this, either.

To challenge the Texas Railroad

payment. Moreover, his tongue and pen were at the disposal of those fighting civil liberties cases or opposing the passage of legislation limiting the political freedom of the American people.

Not unnaturally, he was long a target for the House Un-American Activities Committee and for Senator McCarthy who in 1952 called him "dangerous" to the United States.

Since the last decade of his life coincided with the witch hunt, much of his writing consists of devastating analyses of the loyalty purge, the McCarran Act, and similar repressive laws. Of these he wrote: "To punish men drastically who have done nothing wrong merely for fear they might do something wrong. Such a practice is wholly alien to the traditions of English-speaking freedom."

Just the same Nealy's indictment of the oil monopolies should be heeded. The labor movement's program to smash the "super government" of the oil corporations should be a demand for nationalization of the oil industry under control of the oil workers' union.

While Eisenhower and other

## Zacharias Chafee - Civil Liberties Defender

Zacharias Chafee Jr., veteran champion of civil liberties, died in Boston on Feb. 8 at the age of 71. Chafee joined the faculty of the Harvard Law School in 1916 and was an active professor until last year. Throughout his long career he was known to the public as an unwavering defender of the Bill of Rights. For his participation in cases involving civil liberties he never accepted any

Company's action is to challenge "states' rights," is the government's contention.

The conduct of the oil monopolies has led Senator Matthew M. Nealy (D-W. Va.), a member of the anti-trust and public lands

Committee to charge that "The oil lobby appears to be more powerful than the President, the Congress, and the People." He strongly implied that the major oil companies were a "super government."

What worries Nealy and a number of his colleagues is how the oil companies' hold-up will affect "national defense"—that is, U.S. Big Business' preparations for World War III. Higher gasoline prices for working people here or unemployment and strict gas rationing for working people in Europe is not his concern.

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### Southern Bomb Victims



Mrs. Otis Flowers of Birmingham, Ala., holds up injured hand of her 12-year-old son Arthur for photographers. The Flowers' home in a primarily white section of the city was bombed New Year's Eve by racists. All three were at home when the bomb struck.

## A New Witch-Hunt Attack on the CP

An Editorial

Senator James Eastland (D. — Miss.), head of the Internal Security Subcommittee, announced through counsel, Robert Morris, the launching of a public hearing Feb. 20 on the proceedings of the Communist Party Convention. Eastland says he wants to know if the Communist Party is "independent" from Moscow.

If a political party, a labor organization, a fraternal group or any other association doesn't have the right to hold a closed convention without the prying nose of Eastland butting into the proceedings, what democratic rights are left in this country?

Eastland's committee has subpoenaed Communist Party leader Eugene Dennis to testify on convention proceedings and announced in addition that one of the impartial civil liberty observers who had been invited to sit in on the Convention, Carl Rachlin of the New York American Civil Liberties Union, would be the first witness.

Any political party or any other organization has a right to confine its proceedings to members without the surveillance of self-appointed thought-control cops or anyone else. This right becomes a mockery if witch-hunting legislative "investigators" are going to be allowed to grill the participants of a private meeting.

We protest this outrage against civil liberties, Senator Eastland! Keep your hands off!

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## ILA Nears Settlement In NY Strike

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, FEB. 18—Leaders of the Independent International Longshoremen's Association have reached a tentative agreement with the New York Shippers' Association for settlement of the dockers' strike on the eastern seaboard.

The proposed settlement has to be first ratified by the membership of the ILA. Then it would be used as a basis for contract settlements by other longshore locals up and down the eastern seaboard. It would further set the pattern for the contracts of allied waterfront crafts such as the checkers, dock carpenters, etc. Then the ILA's strike would be officially over.

In the proposed settlement the longshoremen have won a 32-cents an hour increase to be split into three installments. They would receive an immediate 18-cents an hour raise, seven cents an hour more next year and another seven cents the following year. For the first time they have won paid holidays. They have secured two paid holidays for this year, one more for the second year and an additional one for the third year of the contract.

### STRIKE RENEWED

The property contract also provides additional welfare contributions and increased vacation allowance. For dockers on steady gangs, who have worked fairly regularly during the past five years, it can mean a three-week vacation. Others would get proportionately less.

This contract was offered after a five-day walkout of all longshoremen from Main to Virginia. The old contract had expired Sept. 30, and after fruitless negotiations the union had resorted to strike only to be slapped down with a Taft-Hartley injunction. Government intervention did not bring settlement of the dispute but merely postponed the strike until five days ago.

It became obvious then that the shippers had to make some real concessions. Despite all the moral and material help that they could rely on in a battle against a union that stood alone—an outlaw from the official labor movement—they faced an impressive and unbroken solidarity. The ILA has many enemies and its every soft spot was probed. But to the frustration of the shippers and the ILA's other enemies, the loyalty of the rank and file docker to his organization constitutes a formidable obstacle. The union's strength is not so much in any illusions that the docker has about the ILA leadership, but

about the ILA leadership, but

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## March on Washington Promised if Southern Terror Is Not Halted

By Henry Gitano

FEB. 18—Ninety-seven Southern Negro leaders wired President Eisenhower, Feb. 14, that they would organize a mass march on Washington if he maintains his silence

capitalists are silent, Dixie terrorists are on the rampage. The president at his last press conference said he could not go South for a statement against racist violence because of his crowded daily agenda. He is currently in Thomasville, Georgia, on a two week golfing-hunting vacation. Washington's indifference to the heroic Southern Negroes whose very lives are in danger throughout the Dixie Terror Belt is being interpreted by racists mobsters as consent.

A massive March on Washington is the answer of the embattled fighters for racial equality. "If you, our President, cannot come South to relieve our harassed people, we shall have to lead our people to you in the capital, to call the nation's attention to the violence and organized terror directed toward men, women and children," said the Feb. 14 telegram sent by the Southern Negro Leaders Conference.

The wires drafted at the conclusion of a two-day session also urged Eisenhower to call a White House conference on the maintenance of law and order. In addition telegrams were sent to US Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, asking him to meet with Negro leaders and U.S. districts attorneys to discuss "continued violence in the South." Vice-President Nixon was asked to make a report on the South similar to the one he made on Hungary.

## Labor Must Build Own Party, Says Ford Local 600

DETROIT, FEB. 16—Two important actions were voted almost unanimously last Sunday by the General Council of Ford Local 600, United Auto Workers. One was the call for the formation of a new political party based on the labor movement; the other was the unequivocal backing of a prominent witch-hunt victim.

The actions were proposed in a report on behalf of the local's officers presented to the General Council by President Carl Stelzner. The resolution on political action, after tracing the results of past support of the Democratic Party, called upon the coming international convention of the UAW to start the ball rolling toward formation of a farmer-labor party in the United States.

The resolution further urged "that in the interim the UAW take the leadership in undertaking, wherever feasible, in the various state, county and municipal elections to sponsor labor candidates, who will run independently of either the Republican or Democratic Parties."

In another part of his report, Stelzner called the union's attention to the case of Arthur McPhaul, former state secretary of the now defunct Civil Rights Committee, who was recently convicted of "contempt of Congress" and is now awaiting a prison term because he courageously refused to furnish CRC membership lists to a Congressional witch-hunt committee.

Defending McPhaul's right to refuse membership lists under such circumstances, Stelzner declared it to be labor's duty to give support to all who are victimized for upholding the American people's democratic rights. He urged Local 600's unit chairmen to cooperate with McPhaul in the efforts to win a reversal of the conviction in the courts.

The witch-hunt victim was given the floor to address the meeting. McPhaul explained how the issues and principles at stake in his fight coincide with the interests of the labor movement as a whole.

The resolution for a Farmer-

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## Two Views on CP Convention

The New York Times editors were pleased, Feb. 14, that a measure of independence from the Kremlin was shown by the Communist Party convention. They quoted the convention's declaration for the "right of friendly criticism of brother parties or the action of socialist governments" and accepted this as a shift toward independence — however "inadequate."

For a more "adequate" show of independence the Times editors recommend that the Communist Party renounce Marxism-Leninism. And although they have not said so explicitly as yet, they undoubtedly would also like the Communist Party to line up with U.S. imperialism's plans for world conquest.

Revolutionary socialists also welcomed a manifestation by the CP convention of independence from Kremlin dictation — but for just the opposite reason. A break with the politics of the Soviet bureaucracy will allow Communist militants to elaborate a genuine Marxist-Leninist program.

For the Kremlin's ideology, though called "Marxist-Leninist" doesn't bear the faintest resemblance to the liberating theories of Marx and Lenin. The policies of the Kremlin stem from the needs of a privileged bureaucracy to repress the working class at home. They consist in attempts to bargain with the imperialist powers for preservation of the status quo throughout the world.

## Anti-Semitism in Poland

An exodus of Jews from Poland is taking place. It is reported that passport applications by Jewish Poles have already passed the 25,000 mark. The total Jewish population of the country is estimated at between 35,000 and 70,000. This is all that remains of the pre-war Jewish community of 3,500,000 after World War II and the bestiality of the Nazi conquerors.

The hatred of Hitlerism based on the Polish people's own experience with being treated as second-class human beings and the replacement of Polish capitalism and landlordism with an economic system similar to that in the Soviet Union has not prevented a resurgence of barbarous anti-Semitism. Why?

Anti-Semitism is a bitter legacy from Poland's past. The pre-war regime of capitalists and landlords had no quarrel with Hitler over anti-Semitism. They antedated Hitler on this score and anti-Semitism ran deep in the fabric of semi-feudal Polish capitalism.

The change in Poland's social system was brought about not by a revolution but by the military-bureaucratic power of the Kremlin. This meant that the tremendous therapeutic and educational experience against anti-Semitism and every other form of reaction that a socialist revolution embodies was denied the Polish people. Instead Poland became a deformed workers' state carrying over from its past a much heavier load of backwardness than necessary. And piled on this were all the cynical vices of the puppets imposed by the bureaucracy of the degenerated workers' state in the USSR.

For the degeneration in the USSR had gone so far that anti-Semitism, almost eradicated by the Russian Revolution, was being nurtured by Stalin. Once again a bankrupt ruling stratum was employing the age-old historical trick of making the Jews a scapegoat for its own crimes.

The anti-Semitism of the present ruling clique in the Kremlin and of the pro-Kremlin section of the Polish Communist Party is nakedly clear. During the October days when the Gomulka supporters

The capitalist class in the U.S. had no difficulty in collaborating with the Kremlin when Stalin was framing up and executing his revolutionary opponents in the Soviet Union. They did not demand that the American CP be independent of the Kremlin then. Nor did they make the demand during World War II, when at Stalin's orders the American CP became the noisiest jingoists in the labor movement.

In those days, propagandists for American imperialism even painted Stalin as a hero in the "war for democracy." The Kremlin's dictatorial practices became a target for condemnation only when American imperialism launched the cold war against the Soviet orbit.

Then the imperialist propagandists proceeded to lump together Stalinism and Marxism-Leninism in order to put the stigma of Stalin's crimes on genuine Marxists and Leninists. They hoped thereby, to discredit socialist opposition to Big Business' exploitative rule.

The discussion that is now developing in the ranks of the Communist Party will not, in the long run, give any pleasure to the N.Y. Times editors or other proponents of capitalism. As they break with Kremlin domination, militant workers and youth in the CP have already begun to distinguish between Stalinism and Leninism. When that process is completed the opposition to U.S. imperialism will be strengthened.

forced a measure of independence for Poland, Khrushchev lashed out at them as agents of U.S. imperialism and of Zionism, a reversion to the language of the Slansky trial. So permeated with anti-Semitism are Stalin's heirs, that even in an interview with a Canadian Communist Party leader in which he was denying anti-Semitism, Khrushchev betrays the crudest anti-Semitism. Among his charges against Soviet Jews were the allegation that in one section they had not promptly cleaned their streets, that they built too many synagogues, etc.

Direct incitement to violence against Jews is but another crime of the Natolin clique in the Polish CP. This Stalinist or pro-Kremlin group tried by propaganda means to place the blame for Poland's low living standards on the Jews. It has covertly encouraged the current outbursts of terror which anti-Kremlin Communist leaders in Poland describe as "raving anti-Semitism."

In the face of the resurgence of the dark and medieval passions of anti-Semitism the left-wing of Gomulka's supporters have demanded a vigorous campaign against anti-Semitism. This must be done not only for the Jews but for the safety and advancement of the Polish Revolution. There is no question but that the interests of the Polish Jews lies with the Polish people in their struggle for independence and workers' democracy. At the same time Jews in Poland who have witnessed too many massacres of their kinsfolk have the right to judge for themselves whether they wish to stay in Poland or not. In contrast to Stalinist policy, the Gomulka regime is freely granting exit visas.

It is incumbent on Polish revolutionaries to fight anti-Semitism intrinsically for the benefit of those Jews who choose to remain in Poland and so that those forced into exile may safely return at a later date if they so desire. This is an integral part of the struggle against the two hostile forces that confront the Polish revolution—the capitalist and landlord restorationists and the Kremlin bureaucracy and its puppets.

# German Capital Expands With U.S. Help

By John Black

The industrialists and financiers of West Germany, essentially the same group of men that backed Hitler in his attempt to organize the world for them, are now in the process of emerging as chief ally and main partner of U.S. capitalism in a joint plan to achieve the same aims.

To a very considerable extent the hegemony of German capital in Europe has already been achieved. Should the present discussions for some kind of European economic unification produce concrete results, any formal plan would only underline this fact. West Germany is today the most reliable and powerful capitalist anchor in Europe.

### BASIS FOR COMEBACK

Hard hit by the phenomenal resurgence of the West German capitalists are the French and British industrialists. West Germany has out-produced, out-exported them. Even the traditionally French markets in Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands are being lost and an increasing struggle places the French margin in Italy and Spain in doubt. Britain faces similar dim prospects.

Paradoxically, it was the post-war policy of de-concentration and democratization of the West German trusts by the victorious allies which placed enormous capital resources in the hands of the German magnates. U.S. high Commissioner McCloy rescinded the outright confiscation order against German industrialist war criminals. This made it mandatory that the forced sale of certain branches of the trusts would be accompanied by full payment. On the day of the forced sale the Krupps became the richest family in Europe and Friedrich Flick, another Hitler backer, received \$31 million for some of his holdings. It was with the help of such sums of ready cash that reconstruction of the economic empire was made possible.

U.S. policy and aid (\$9 billion in W. Germany and only \$5 billion in France), the cold war against the Soviet bloc, the outbreak of the Korean war, the requirements of NATO and the favorable industrial and resource structure of the country itself, contributed to the upsurge in West Germany. Drastic post-war currency reforms wiped out small business competition internally and the heavy influx of refugees from former German-held territories provided cheap labor.

By the beginning of this year the triumphant West German monopolists were ready to embark on the next stage in their plans. Both Britain and France have been seriously weakened

economically and compromised politically in the wake of the Suez debacle. Inversely, Germany plays an increasingly vital role in the NATO alliance. West Germany is now ready to step up its drive for the necessary world markets. The significantly new feature is the open partnership with U.S. business in this venture. The German capitalists succeeded in the past few years in laying a solid groundwork.

German airlines began operations in April 1955. Since then, the Lufthansa has more than doubled its air fleet and is today weaving a network to Latin and North America, Japan and the Middle East. It is now thrusting into new markets in the air transport field.

Blohm & Voss Shipbuilding Works in Hamburg, partially dismantled as a war potential in the immediate post-war period, is bigger than ever and is launching a record passenger, transport and tanker fleet. Already in 1955 the export of German-built ships exceeded that of British.

Ever since the 1954 Latin American tour by Ludwig Erhard, Bonn's Minister of Economic Affairs, penetration of this key market has gone forward on a considerable scale. For example, Europe's largest producer of electrical equipment, Siemens & Halske A.G., by 1955 had begun to export equipment and installations of considerable magnitude to South America. Sister companies of this concern exist in most South American countries today. The contract with the nationalized Argentinian Telephone company is one of the largest that country has signed with a foreign concern. Siemens has undertaken to build a manufacturing unit for telephone equipment in Argentina that will make it independent of foreign supply in that field. Huge contracts for telephone installations and supplies in Venezuela followed thereafter. In Nicaragua, Siemens secured the contract with the War Ministry in competition with the U.S. General Electric Corporation, despite the fact that the country is dominated by U.S. finance capital.

On Aug. 2, 1956 the Chilean Government signed a preliminary agreement with the Krupp interests for establishment of large shipbuilding and Diesel motor factories in Chile. Siemens has also penetrated to Asia. Afghanistan has Siemens installations. British interests in India have been pushed to the wall by it in the electrical manufacturing field. Siemens is part owner of the Japanese electrical manufacturing concern, Fuji Denki Seizo, K. K., and has other interests in that country.

While President Sukarno of Indonesia was sightseeing in the

United States last Fall, a delegation of West German industrialists negotiated in Indonesia for participation in Indonesian industry. The terms would give West Germany 40 to 50% of all outstanding shares for their capital investment, management and technical know-how. The same delegation visited India, Pakistan, Burma, Japan and Thailand.

### MIDDLE EAST

Significant feature of this economic penetration drive is the ability of the West Germans to extend long-term credits and loans to the under-developed countries. This, of course, means that these countries are not only customers and debtors but that they become increasingly tied politically to the resurgent German financiers.

The Middle East has been the target of German capital for decades. During the recent Suez crisis, West German politicians took full advantage of the fact that Germany was unrepresented in the United Nations. The Bonn government was able to avoid taking a formal position on the French-British assault on Egypt. While unhappy over the nationalization plans of Nasser, they let it be known that they condemned their rivals' military venture. On March 14 of this year there will take place in Cairo the opening of the West German Trade Ex-

position. More than 350 West German concerns will take part. It is shaping up as the largest industrial exhibition ever to take place in the Arab world.

\* \* \*

The German capitalists' desire to replace their British and French counterparts as the main U.S. partner in world capitalist hegemony is about to be fulfilled.

The economic alliance between West German capitalists and U.S. capitalists is viewed by both sides as undermining the political alliance. While West Germany has had a continuous right-wing capitalist regime since the Occupation, a government headed by Adenauer and representing an alliance of Big Business with clerical reaction, there is at this moment serious doubt that Adenauer and his cohorts will be re-elected in the national election due this Fall. Public opinion polls give the left-of-center Social Democrats a majority of the voters.

The Social Democratic Party leaders, while anxiously seeking the advance approval of the U.S. State Department (Ollenhauer, its national chairman is right now in Washington conferring with Secretary of State Dulles), are nonetheless regarded with distrust by finance capitalist circles. The close economic bonds between the capitalists of the two countries, which are now being so rapidly and assiduously cemented, are against any adverse effect of political upset in West Germany.

## Dulles Runs Into Opposition



Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, seen here conferring with Congressman Gordon and Admiral Radford, was rejected, Feb. 18, as proposed leader of forthcoming bi-partisan meeting on Israel's demands for guarantees on the Gaza Strip and the Gulf of Aqaba. Democrats asked for Eisenhower's personal participation.

## Our Readers Take the Floor

### It Wasn't Funny

Editor:

I work for a "public relations" studio. We print two photostats of each advertisement — a negative and a positive.

One day last week my production manager stopped me and said: "I have a joke. I don't think you will get it, because it is subtle. If you get it I expect you to laugh." We had just finished a poster for a bank advertising travelers' checks. It showed American tourists observing picturesque scenes throughout the world.

On the poster itself the American travelers are white. He jocularly showed me the negative photostat of the same poster and

said: "We are now advertising for a Harlem Bank." When I refused to respond, he asked grouchily: "Don't you get it?" (On the negative the tourists appeared black.) I got it all right but I didn't think there was anything funny.

Behind what he thought was such a big joke was the grim truth that advertising is strictly Jim Crow. Advertising presents Americans exclusively as whites, except when the ads are directed specifically to the Negro market.

B.D.  
New York

Enclosed are some clippings. Just enough to remind you the type of news we have to screen and re-write in our minds to find out a part of what is really happening around us here. Even the radio has a way of fading out when trade unions and Negroes are in for comment...

Enclosing some very interesting editorials and letters on pure "Southernism." I just don't do well during damp weather and we are having lots of it now. A cold drizzle is falling now but I am by a good fire and full. I killed a hog so I have meat and lard. I have five hens laying... My paper is regular now... I don't get any union papers so have to just scrap union news from local papers and the radio. Union work is not so hot in Mississippi — only for the white man... This whole state needs educating.

R.L.  
Chicago

Dear Friend

Your letter received and enjoyed so much. Was in bed with arthritis in my whole right side but am doing fine now. I was out working and got caught in a cold rain and was soaked for nearly two hours before I got home. That was the first full day I had worked in 14 months and was not able to go back again. I only made the one day.

There is nothing to do around here at all now and won't be until spring. No enterprise at all. Only one business in town that employs more than three Negroes. I have a hog to kill next week. I hope to be able to farm my own land this next year and get another start at living in the country. Farming is about the easiest work a worn-out person can do. Labor is \$2.00 to \$2.50 a day. Some \$3.00 labor has been had a few days in June. Not enough to live on.

Clinton, Tenn., and the Montgomery case still have the spotlight. Also the Florida Flogging Trial about "Hello, honey." Haven't received a Militant in two weeks. I never did find a reader worth passing along the paper to. All too drunk around here...

Our government can air lift 25,000 refugees from Communist oppression but can't see that 12 native born American Negroes go to school at Clinton. Where is the free America?

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Clinton, Tenn., and the Montgomery case still have the spotlight. Also the Florida Flogging Trial about "Hello, honey." Haven't received a Militant in two weeks. I never did find a reader worth passing along the paper to. All too drunk around here...

Clinton, Tenn., and the Mont-

council of Hungary demanded all power to the Soviets, as the workers in Russia did in October, 1917. However, the Kremlin bureaucrats, myopic with a dose of neo-Stalinism, reversed Lenin's revolutionary idea. With tanks, guns, and artillery they battled the Hungarian workers in the streets of Budapest. How far to the counter-revolution have they themselves gone? And who are they blaming now? Do they not realize that they hold their seats of power not because they are talented, but because Soviet property forms enable them to sit in power? And these Soviet property forms were created by the revolutionary proletarians, led by Lenin!

What does this augur for a left regroupment? How much credence will anyone give to a person who utters shibboleths (left ones, mind you) and who does the exact opposite? Are the Trotskyists the only communists left in the world today? As Lenin taught, the workers'

### Education of a Workingman

It was in a coal miner's shack, down on old Coos Bay, That my mother brought me forth, one cold December day. This is my story, I swear it is the Gospel truth.

She died of overwork, while still within her youth.

So bear with me if my rhyme does not follow every rule.

As a lad, I went to work, while others went to school.

But life itself is a school, and some things I have learned.

In the university of life, scholarships are dearly earned.

I've sailed upon the ocean, out on the bounding main,

And harvested in the Dakotas, gathering in the grain.

I've picked the hops and picked their prunes,

Walked the picket lines and battled with the goons.

I've tramped the highways, and slept out in the cold,

And worked deep down in the earth, a-digging for gold.

In Washington's forests, mighty monarchs I have felled,

And in Frisco's shipyards, they taught me how to weld,

## The Negro Struggle

By John Black

### Montgomery Students Speak

One of the most promising developments in the struggle against segregation in the South today is the educational effect of the struggle itself on the youth.

The whole world has read about the courage of the boys and girls and the young men and women who have bravely run the gauntlet of mobs incited by unbalanced tools of the white supremacists, like John Kasper. Everyone knows of the heroic determination of the students who have been willing to face physical violence, personal abuse and prejudiced school authorities to win the right to equal educational and job opportunities.

The thinking of these young people has been clear from their actions. They are in rebellion against segregation in all its forms.

But the headline stories in the daily papers, while they report interviews with the public officials involved, the leaders of the mass movement, and sometimes the parents, seldom tell us the opinions of the youth themselves.

A very interesting article on this aspect of the struggle appeared in the February 2 issue of one of the most informative Negro weeklies published in Alabama, the Mobile Beacon.

Fred Jenkins, a Beacon writer, reported that the Alabama State College (for Negroes) at Montgomery had been warned by telephone calls that it was going to be bombed before dawn on Sunday, Feb. 6.

### DESPITE HELL AND BOMBS

Jenkins visited the campus, and interviewed a number of the students at random, asking each the question: If any buildings on the campus are bombed, will you withdraw from school? Here are the replies, as quoted:

**Miss Georgia McFadden, of Mobile:** "No. I shall continue to pursue my studies despite hell, bombs, or the proverbial high water. Tomorrow, the job of obtaining equal citizenship will be my responsi-

bility. The City of Montgomery furnishes the experience I need to succeed in the dark struggle which lies ahead."

Adolph Meacham, of Tuscaloosa: "No, you can't fight anything by running away. Every available person is needed to aid in this historic struggle for freedom."

Otis Andrews, of Plateau: "No. Education will play a major role in the freedom of Negroes everywhere, and he who runs away now should be banished from the human race."

Marion Clarke, of Mobile: "No, because it would disqualify me from the ranks of those seeking first class citizenship." (Mr. Clarke is a Korean veteran and holder of the Silver Star Medal for gallantry in action.)

### MUST STAY IN FIGHT

Harold Rice, of Birmingham: "No, I feel that I am a part of this fight for equal citizenship, and should I run from the heat of battle it would constitute a breach of civic and moral duty."

Leon Truss, of Cropwell: "No, if the people of Montgomery, many of whom are uneducated, have the courage and foresight to fight for equal citizenship, I feel that I must stay, and if possible, dedicate my life and work to them." (Mr. Truss is also a veteran of the Korean war.)

Carl L. Banks, of Woodstock: "No, because it would be playing into the hands of the lawless elements who are trying to terrorize the city. We must stand fast and weather the crisis together."

John E. Jones, of Sumter, S.C.: "No, because the freedom of tomorrow's Negroes depends upon our actions of today."

These comments indicate that the struggle is educating new leaders on a scale the "gradual" methods of almost a century never could. It is educating them by the thousands, too many for the KKK and the White Citizens Councils to stop.

## McDonald Opponents Gain Majority in Buffalo Area Vote

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, Feb. 18.—The United Steel Workers on the Niagara Frontier poured out of the steel plants on February 12 to vote for the powerful post of International President, the first election of its kind in the twenty-year history of the union.

Unofficial results have made it clear to David J. McDonald, incumbent candidate, that the rank and file in this area are fed up with his "arm-in-arm" policies with management. Although returns from thirty-five USW locals in and around Buffalo has McDonald ahead \$8,002 to McDonald's 6,316, steel workers are convinced that Rarick did not get a fair shake at the polls. Militants had shown concern over the voting procedure of using unnumbered paper ballots rather than election machines and they agreed with Rarick who had requested watchers at the polling areas for both candidates to insure an honest election, request which the McDonald machine denied.

### DOUBT McDONALD VOTE

However, these militants questioned Rarick's wisdom in appealing to the U.S. Senate committee "investigating" labor "racketeering." They viewed this move as a slap at the rank and file who have so splendidly supported his movement, because it indicated a feeling on Rarick's part that they are incapable of handling their own affairs.

In the concentrated steel area of Lackawanna, Rarick led McDonald 4,025 to 3,136 in the four locals of the Bethlehem Steel Company, but shop talk among the men was devoted to wondering where McDonald got his support.

Although the ranks were angry and disappointed with the outcome, their morale and spirit was high knowing that their protest vote had struck a heavy blow at the hated McDonald machine. This spirit had carried over from the days prior to the election when the main topic of talk in the plant was strictly union politics and the election. The ranks liked Rarick's proposal of a referendum vote on all convention decisions (having in mind the dues increase and McDonald's salary increase) and especially the idea of rank and file elections for international officers.

This enthusiasm for Rarick and the Dues Protest Movement stayed right up to election day, Feb. 12. Active supporters of Rarick who handed out leaflets were encouraged and praised time and time again by the membership. "Give the union back to the men," was the password of the rank and file as they entered the union hall to cast their vote.

In contrast to this was the way the distributors of the McDonald literature were received. One member who accepted a leaflet spread with the faces of McDonald and his associates stated, "You couldn't pay me \$60 an hour to hand out that poison." McDonald leaflets were crumpled and scattered all around the outside of the plant and a sound truck boomed out for McDonald was received with hostility from the ranks.

### TURNOUT AT LOCAL 2602

Another important feature of the Lackawanna vote was the Local 2602 played in support of Rarick, both organizationally and financially. They won an important fight in Lackawanna, successfully bucking the prestige and power of District Director Molony who had given his support to McDonald. This local, the only one of the four in the Lackawanna area to endorse Rarick did an excellent job of getting out their members to vote. They issued leaflets, hired their own hall and supervised their own elections. This paid off. The vote for Rarick was 1,563 to 47 in Local 2602.

Unfortunately, they weakened their cause by not seriously trying to enlist the support of the other three big locals and make an up-and-down the line fight in this important steel area. In the few locals on the Niagara Frontier where Rarick received official union support the vote was all for Rarick. Symington Gould Local 1630 went for Rarick 851 to 12 and in Worthington Pump Local 2017 the vote was 510 to 106 in favor of Rarick. This clearly indicates that when the rank and file were organized the McDonald forces were crushed.

### TOO MUCH SILENCE

What saved McDonald from an all-out defeat in this area was the fact that only 25 to 30% of the members voted in the election. The fault to a great extent lies in the fact that Rarick didn't make an all-out fight. He made no attack on the steel companies for their continuing speed-up and incentive abuses and stalling tactics in the processing of grievances, which continue to mount. He expressed no opposition to McDonald's policies in relation to the steel companies, notably the recent contract settlement that has saddled the steel workers with a three-year no-strike pledge at a time when steel and other price hikes have wiped out what few gains were made.

At his talk before Local 2602, 25% of those attending were Negro workers who hoped that Rarick would attack the steel companies' nation-wide discriminatory practices in keeping the majority of Negro steel workers

on the difficult and lower paying jobs.

Rarick's silence on these key issues deprived him of all-out support from the membership who desired a complete break from McDonald's "arm-in-arm" tactics with the companies. Many Bethlehem workers stayed away from the election because Rarick never made it clear that he opposed McDonald up and down the line.

But one fact is clear and towers above all the others. The men who have swung behind Rarick and the Dues Protest Movement are right from the mills. They have catapulted him from oblivion into a position where he has contested the leadership of one of the most powerful unions in the world, and all in less than a few months. This is the power of the rank and file who have set their sights on cleaning out McDonald and Company. One union member put it on the line when in answer to a remark that Rarick could become another McDonald, he said, "It could happen, but right now a new broom sweeps cleaner." Rarick has promised that he will keep the Dues Protest Movement alive, "win, lose, or draw." This means that an avenue of struggle has been opened up for the men to continue to fight the hated McDonald machine. This vital election has put the men on that road, shoulder to shoulder.

### DPC ELECTS

Rarick won a substantial majority in the heart of the industry which is covered by Pittsburgh area Districts 15 and 16, and in at least one other district, the Steubenville area of Ohio.

Rarick is leading in the Lorain area of Ohio, though the Dues Protest candidate for international secretary-treasurer, Wil-

liam Klug, is trailing McDonald man, I. W. Abel, in that area. The vote in the Buffalo area was 8,002 for Rarick and 6,316 for McDonald (see Buffalo report on page 4).

In addition the Dues Protest Committee has gained the directorship of district 15 according to unofficial returns. The DPC candidate for director of District 16, Frank O'Brien, was ruled off the ballot just before the election, but is planning court action since the DPC slate otherwise carried the district. Paul Hilbert, DPC candidate for district 15 director, said Feb. 18 that locals in the district had not yet mailed in the election returns and that he plans court action if returns are not sent in for the Feb. 22 deadline. Hilbert leads the McDonald candidate, John Sullivan, by two to one.

"There were threats," reports the Feb. 18 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, "that if an attempt is made to give Sullivan the majority, they [the DPC] will picket and shut down every plant in the district."

**TUGBOAT STRIKE**

In the New England district, McDonald is reported to have squeaked through by about 600 votes out of 18,000. In the whole New York State District, headed by Joseph Molony who formerly opposed McDonald, but lined up behind him against the dues protesters, McDonald's margin is reported as 3,000 votes out of 37,000. The Cleveland reports give McDonald 15,000 votes to 11,000 for Rarick.

In the Gary, Indiana, area, controlled by a ruthless McDonald machine, the bureaucrats reported Rarick trailing by 35 to one. Rarick's lawyer, James A. Ashton, is preparing court action against alleged vote fraud in the midwest locals.

What were the causes of the resentment against the McDonald machine which produced this unprecedented and unexpected protest vote? The workers in the huge majority felt that the contract was not satisfactory considering the tremendous profits that the steel corporations were raking in.

On top of this, the workers feel the ever-increasing cost of living and the ever-accumulating debts. There is a general feeling of insecurity among the workers, since they all understand that the auto industry, a user of a lot of steel, is not producing very steadily. And they are not satisfied that the union has the neces-

### Not So Happy Now



United Steel Workers' president McDonald (left) and U.S. Steel Corporation head Clifford S. Hook beamed happily at each other during last summer's contract negotiations. Neither have much to smile about now with the steel union election results which revealed strong rank-and-file opposition to McDonald's leadership.

# THE MILITANT

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## ... Ford Local on Labor Party

(Continued from page 1)

Labor-Liberal party adopted by the General Council of Ford Local 600 read in part as follows:

"Whereas: the American labor movement in the recent presidential election has poured forth more money, manpower and time than ever before in the history of organized labor; and

"Whereas: the political voice of labor has on a national scale never been as ineffective as it is today; and

"Whereas: the record of the Democratic Party is not an accidental occurrence, but an inevitable result of the nature of the party. The outcome of the last election, and the reasons for that outcome, prove the contention of Local 600 that was set forth in resolution No. 4, introduced at the 14th Convention of the UAW-CIO in 1953 that:

"It has become obvious over the last decade that neither of the

two major political parties, one because of its inability to break with reactionary elements, the other because of its direct ties to the vested interests of Wall Street, can solve the immediate problems of the American people; the problems of taxation, of high cost of living, of job insecurity, of inadequate pensions, of inadequate medical care, of inadequate housing, of civil rights of minority groups; and

"In justifiable disgust; only such a party could break away from the 'me-too-ism' of the Democratic Party on the question of foreign policy and win support from the millions of Americans who voted for Eisenhower in the mistaken notion that they could thus register their opposition to the foreign policy of the Democratic Party.

Therefore Be It Resolved: That this 16th Convention of the UAW-AFL-CIO, call upon the AFL-CIO to convene in the near future a Congress to which shall be invited delegates of all interested union bodies and representative farm groups and liberal elements, including those from the Republican and Democratic Parties, and which shall have the function of determining a program and setting in motion the mechanics for the establishment of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States."

## Adam C. Powell Will Intervene In Santana Case

FEB. 19.—N. Y. Congressman, Adam Clayton Powell, according to El Diario, Feb. 7, will intervene on behalf of Frank Santana, a Puerto Rican youth who is now serving a life sentence in prison after being convicted on a second-degree murder charge. Santana's trial and sentence have been declared "unfair" by the prominent psychiatrist, Dr. Frederick Wertham, in the book "The Puerto Rican hoodlum" who had shot a "model boy."

Dr. Wertham, who had been called by Santana's lawyers to examine the youth, learned that Santana had been threatened by

an anti-Puerto Rican gang and was in fear of attack when he was accosted by William Blankenship, the victim in the shooting. Dr. Wertham also expressed belief that the gun may have been fired accidentally.

Frank Santana never received a fair trial. The newspapers called for death sentence and for months campaigned in a lynch spirit against the "Puerto Rican hoodlum" who had shot a "model boy."

The Federation of Hispanic Societies and the Council of Hispanic American Organizations in New York have interested themselves in the case of Frank Santana and are seeking a commutation of the sentence from Governor Harriman.

### LEGAL LYNCHING

Frank Santana, who was only 17 at the time of the tragedy in the Spring of 1955, was the victim of national prejudice in one of New York's worst slum areas. Dr. Wertham came to the conclusion that Santana's conviction was more of a lynching than a trial. And he explained, "There was a social motive why the community did not want a trial. If it had looked into this boy's mind, it would have to look at itself... It was easier to send the boy away without a trial and let things be as they are."

Dr. Wertham became so convinced of young Santana's innocence that he offered to make himself personally responsible for the youth's future conduct if he were to be released from prison. The demand for commutation of sentence is receiving wider support in New York City and nationally as the case becomes known.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

The following are excerpts from a letter that the veteran railroad worker, C. R. Hedlund of Minneapolis recently sent to two of his friends:

"I have arranged to have the Militant sent to your homes for a six-month period. I rate the Militant as the best working-class publication

in the United States, and I have been a subscriber to that paper since its first issue in November 1928. Please accept it and read it with my compliments.

"Do you boys stop to reflect on the social mess that this country is in? We have armies, navies and air fields all over the globe; we are spending billions for equipment to kill and destroy. The news commentator, Edward R. Murrow said over the radio last night that 78 cents out of every tax dollar goes for war, past and present. And this insane waste and spending goes on when there isn't a single nation, or group of nations, that have the slightest intention to attack or invade this country if we leave them alone.

"Both of you boys have had a rich experience in life. You, Arthur, as a steel worker who has driven rivets in the construction of the Empire State Building in New York and the bridge over the Golden Gate of San Francisco, plus your travels and experience in South America. And you, Conrad, as a lifetime farmer in North Dakota with your long and honorable struggle as member and organizer of the Nonpartisan League to fight the robbery of the milling and elevator combines, the International Harvester as well as the crooked politicians in Bismarck. In the light of this experience, both of you should be well equipped to reap a lot of enjoyment and information by reading ... the Militant."

"Eisenhower wants standby authority from Congress to rush American troops to the Middle East on a moment's notice. What for? Do you people know of any good reason why American soldiers should be sent there to kill poor Arabs and bomb and pulverize their cities and homes? Do we want to repeat the outrage that the agents of Big Business at Washington committed against the people of Korea? Do we want to spend billions of tax dollars

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